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11.2 Normative Grammars

This chapter presents the development of Catalan grammar codification by highlighting its diatopic and diaphasic variation and how this is considered in the two official normative grammars (1918/1933 and 2016). The shift from a monocentric approach to a pluricentric one is also demonstrated by means of other parallel attempts at codification that have contributed to constructing Catalan's so-called polymorphism. Two divergent or secessionist attempts at standardisation are taken into account in order to demonstrate the centrifugal as well as centripetal tendencies. The Catalan article system (definite, personal and neuter articles) is a useful example for examining the approach of each of the grammar books with regard to the distribution of the diatopic and diaphasic variation. It remains to be seen whether the pluricentric standardisation and a balanced polymorphism will prevail in the future.

Catalan, Grammar, Syntax, Standardisation, Monocentrism, Pluricentrism, Polymorphism, Definite article, Personal article, Neuter article

1 Unity in diversity

The process of standardising Catalan crystallized in the first third of the 20th century in the work of Pompeu Fabra (cf. 3.1) and the related codification activities of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC), the Catalan academy of Language and Sciences, founded in 1907 in Barcelona. Since Catalan is spoken in four countries (Spain, France, Andorra, Italy) and in Spain in four autonomous regions (Catalonia, the Community of Valencia, the Balearic Islands and Aragon), linguistic and cultural unity has always determined the normative discourse on language. Another topic of normative discourse is determining which features of Catalan are the most appropriate to mark the linguistic distance (*Ausbausprache*; Haugen 1966 and 1983; Kloss 1976 and 1978, 22-37; ###) from its Romance neighbours (Italian, Sardinian, Occitan, Spanish; cf. Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, IX) and in particular from Spanish, since the latter is the (co-)official language in the Catalan-speaking territories which belong to Spain. The pressure of Spanish on the different areas of use has caused a certain purist attitude among some of the codification agents and institutions, although language users have protested against this on various occasions throughout history. The debate on the reconstruction of literary language in the 1860s and 1870s can be cited as an example. It confronted two main groups: on the one hand, those writers who defended an updating of Catalan on the basis of spoken language ("el català que ara es parla") and, on the other, those who wanted to elaborate the new Catalan ("català acadèmic") on the basis of the classical language from the previous centuries or even medieval Catalan (Segarra 2001). Another

debate, which took place between 1982 and 1992, disputed whether Catalan codification should be conserved (“català heavy”) or updated (“català light”; cf. Casals 2001; Ferrando/Nicolàs 2005, 327-331, 336-339, 515-520).

Nevertheless, the specific cultural, socio-historical, political, and geographic situation of the Catalan language has given rise to an original codification framework (cf. 3.4.), based on theoretical foundations in Catalan sociolinguistics and language planning (both status and corpus planning; cf. Lamuela/Murgades 1984; Boix/Vila 1998; Montoya 2006). However, the standardisation process which started and progresses on the basis of the codification proposals by the IEC is counteracted when other attempts at standardisation are undertaken, mainly for political and language policy reasons (cf. 4.1.2 and 4.2.4.).

According to Martines/Montoya (2011), the normative approach, adopted by the Philological Section of the IEC, created in 1911, has changed over the years “from a *unitarist* one in the early times to a *compositional* one in the late 20th century, accepting a great number of phonetic, spelling, lexical and grammar variants” (Martines/Montoya 2011, 186)¹ from the entire Catalan-speaking territory, also called *polymorphism*. So, the normative discourse has changed from a generally monocentric perspective on geographic variation and its contribution to standardisation into a decidedly pluricentric perspective (Amorós Negre 2014, 162-171). While the unitarist approach attached priority to the unity of language and established a codification based on Central Catalan (specifically the Barcelona area),² the pluricentric one recognises the diversity of forms within the standard

¹ The understanding of what ‘compositional’ means is not always clear. Argenter distinguishes between an earlier understanding of compositionality and a later one: In the first period, this strategy meant to gather information from different dialects in order to establish a common reference variety or standard. So, compositionality denotes: “la contribució dia-crítica dels diversos dialectes a la construcció de la imatge de la llengua comuna” (Argenter 2009, 38). In the second period, compositionality has meant selecting a form, but also incorporating different dialectal forms into the body of normative regulations (Argenter 2009, 39). In this sense, the *Guia d’usos lingüístics* explains the compositionality of the standard: “els trets comuns de l’estàndard intenten recollir aportacions d’aquestes grans varietats [bàsicament del català central, del valencià i del mallorquí] i no sols d’una, la central, com es tendeix a pensar” (2002, 18–19).

² Cf. Wheeler/Yates/Dols: “Though there are significant dialect differences in Catalan, the dialects are to a very high degree mutually intelligible. They are conventionally divided into two groups, on the basis of differences in phonology as well as in some features of verb morphology; there are some interesting lexical differences, too. The eastern group covers North Catalan (including *rossellonès* in French Catalonia), Central Catalan (in the eastern part of Catalonia), Balearic, and *alguerès* (in Alghero). The western group consists of North Western (NW) Catalan (western and southern Catalonia and eastern Aragon) and Valencian” (1999, XIII).

(“compositional standardisation” in terms of Amorós Negre 2014, 164). Therefore, convergent regional standards are expressly welcomed in order to foster the identification of speakers with their own language. So, among the eastern dialects the one spoken in Alguero (Sardinia, Italy) has its own standard model (*El català de l'Alguer: un model d'àmbit restringit*, 2003). In 1986, Beltran (1988) published a proposal for the variety spoken in the area of Tortosa, generally belonging to the western dialects and the so-called Western in Transition. Later this first description culminated in the language textbook *Cruïlla* ('crossroads', Beltran/Panisello 2002), which teaches the referential geographic variety of the area of Tortosa.

Despite the efforts to build a modern, flexible codification framework for the entire speech community of Catalan, there have been several attempts at initiating a separation process by declaring the regional variety to be significantly different from standard Catalan and therefore another language (cf. 4.1.2 and 4.2.4). These movements do not always openly acknowledge a secessionist intention, but the final result would be fragmentation.

This article aims to give a general overview of grammar standardisation in the Catalan-speaking territory by highlighting the main achievements in this field, but also by presenting offshoots, which might not flourish in the future. The standardisation of Catalan as a pluricentric language is still continuing. It should be clear that until now there have been only two official normative grammars: that published in 1918 by Pompeu Frabra (cf. 3.1.) and that published by the IEC in 2016 (cf. 3.4.).

After the introductory considerations in section 1, section 2 explains the three patterns against which the selected grammars are checked. These patterns comprise the different forms of the definite and personal articles in accordance to the diatopic variation of Catalan. Section 3 examines the two normative grammars and the outstanding contributions to a modern approach by Badia i Margarit (cf. 3.2.) and Solà (cf. 3.3.). In section 4, the contributions to the standardisation of the Balearic and Valencian varieties are examined in detail. As in the preceding section 3, the classification of each of the grammars is made according to the specific patterns of the definite and personal articles. Section 5 gives an overview of the results obtained through checking the selected grammars and adds some remarks on future prospects. With regard to the references (cf. 6.), some aspects are not dealt with in depth, as there are detailed studies I refer to. In first place, if there is a study in English, I give it preference. In second place, I cite studies carried out in Catalan, and only in third place do I refer to studies in other languages.

2 An example: the definite and personal articles

In order to evaluate the normative grammars taken into account I would like to have a look at the presentation of the Catalan article system, particularly the definite and personal articles, as an example of the specific interface between standardised language, and diatopic and diaphasic variation. Among the different patterns that the article system presents I would like to check the following three: 1. General standard article, 2. *Article salat*, 3. Personal article.

Pattern 1: General standard forms of the definite article (cf. Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, 43).

	<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>
	<i>before con- sonant</i>	<i>before vowel or h-</i>	
<i>masculine</i>	el	l'	els
<i>feminine</i>	la	l'	les

Pattern 2: *Article salat*, which is the most commonly used definite article in the Balearic Islands. "Its use there is typical of the spoken language [...]; it is not used in very formal speech" (Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, 45).

	<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>
	<i>before conso- nant</i>	<i>before vowel or h-</i>	
<i>masculine</i>	es	s'	es
<i>feminine</i>	sa	s'	ses

Pattern 3: Personal article that often introduces personal names, although in modern times the standard definite article has taken over from the personal article, which in normative discourse is often presented as a unique feature of Catalan, worthy of preservation and cultivation. "The personal article is not used at all in Valencia and southern Catalonia" (Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, 67).

	<i>before consonant</i>	<i>before vowel</i>
<i>masculine</i>	en (el)	n' (l')
<i>feminine</i>	na (la)	n' (l')

According to these short explanations, the three patterns should allow to answer the main questions concerning the normative attitudes that the analysed grammar books show towards regional and register variation, that is to say, towards a convergent or divergent approach to Catalan standard. I am aware that polymorphism is often present in verb paradigms across the different Catalan varieties (cf. Segarra 1987, 95-145; Rogge/Beinke 1991, 206-207). In addition, pluricentrism often

regards the lexical variation or the presence of geosynonyms³ such as *noi* (Central Catalan), *xic* (Valencian), *al-lot* (Balearic), *xicot* (North-Western Catalan), *minyó* (Northern Catalan) for ‘boy’.

3 Normative grammars for the entire Catalan-speaking area

3.1 Pompeu Fabra’s normative grammar

It is generally accepted that Pompeu Fabra (1868–1948) is the most important figure in the process of codifying Catalan and paving the way to recovering language usage. Since 2013 his works on language may be consulted in a nine-volume edition prepared under the supervision of Jordi Mir and Joan Solà. It includes detailed studies by the best-known experts in the field. Of special interest to us are: volume 1, containing the grammars from 1891, 1898 and 1912 (Fabra 2005); volume 2 with *Gramàtica catalana. Curs mitjà* from 1918 (Fabra 2006); and volume 6 with the grammars from 1918/1933, 1956 and 1946 (Fabra 2009). In addition, volume 4 comprises, among other manuals addressed to a non-specialist public, the manual *Les principals faltes de gramàtica (manera d’evitar-les)* (1925), which complements several questions that Fabra presented in other studies on grammar (Rico in Fabra 2008, 693). Through the edition by Costa (2009) Fabra’s main ideas on language and grammar codification are available for the first time in English. Among these extensive contributions to the description and codification of Catalan there is only one grammar, which, strictly speaking, presents a normative objective: the *Gramàtica catalana* (1918). This grammar went through seven editions, continuously revised by Fabra up to 1933. It gave the official normative model between 1918 and 2016, the year when the IEC published its new grammar (cf. 3.4).

As has been stated by many researchers, Fabra saw what he called *redreçament* or the purification of language as a prerequisite for its social recovery, known among Catalan sociolinguists as normalisation (Boix/Vila 1998, 314-325; ###...). Fabra’s term *redreçament* fits perfectly with the well-known stages of corpus planning (Haugen 1983; Boix/Vila 1998, 297; Costa 2009, 41) as it comprises in a broad sense the four following stages: selection, codification, implementation of the

³ Geosynonyms can be defined as: “[...] els mots que provenen d’arrels diferents i que s’es- tenen per àmbits geogràfics diferenciats però que estan associats a una mateixa unitat se- mântica” (Colón 2009, 23). According to Colón, standardisation implies impoverishment as it reduces the dialectal variability by selecting a form among several geosynonyms (2009, 31).

selected forms in society, and modernisation or elaboration (Montoya 2006, 26-29; Costa 2009, 58). Regarding the basis of the normative standard, Fabra's preference for the vernacular of Barcelona has been repeatedly emphasised. It is understandable due to Fabra's origin and also to the central role of the capital in many respects. This initially monocentric conception of the standard suits Fabra's view of Barcelona as the future capital of the entire Catalan-speaking territory, where the differences between the dialects would blend together, accompanied by a rigorous purification of the spoken language (Costa 2009, 38). In addition, it must be acknowledged that "Fabra evolves from an early defence (1892) of the language of Barcelona as almost the exclusive basis, for reforming Catalan, through to an invitation to Valencians and Majorcans (1918) to purify their own variants as a way to construct the literary language" (Costa 2009, 70; cf. 4.2.1).

Another aspect is that Fabra always saw his prescriptive framework as a proposal in which the new forms or structures would need a certain time to take root. So, there is a period when concurrent forms alternate until one prevails: "[...] the assay process, after four or five years of positive outcome, should result in a strict rule. Then we ought to be able to say that whoever does not do such and such a thing or whoever does not do something in this way or that, is quite simply committing a grammatical error" (Fabra in Costa 2009, 192). In the same interview "A Conversation with Pompeu Fabra" from May 1926 Fabra asserts that "[t]he grammarian [...] has no individual authority to lay down the law *a priori*", but "his duty is to attenuate any friction, looking to resolve conflict [between normative principles and colloquial usage] if this is necessary" (Fabra in Costa 2009, 191). This principle elevates the descriptive task above the prescriptive one and stresses a dynamic perspective on language codification.

With regard to the Catalan article system, Fabra's proposals and the later developments can be checked against the three patterns I propose. In his grammar from 1918/1933, chapter 1 gives a synopsis on the usage of the definite article (Fabra 2009, 161-162). As can be seen from the reference to the masculine article form *lo*, attention is paid to the language spoken in Barcelona: "[Una altra forma de l'article masculí és *lo* (plural *los*), que el llenguatge de Barcelona no usa sinó en alguna frase feta [...]]" (2009, 161). In the grammar from 1956, the explanations on the Catalan article system are considerably more detailed (including, this time, the indefinite article; Fabra 2009, 549-551). However, it is interesting to observe that the former explanation of the article *lo* now refers also to other spoken varieties different from that of Barcelona: "Una altra forma de l'article masculí és *lo* (plural *los*) usat encara en molts parlars catalans. A Barcelona no usa sinó en alguna frase estereotipada [...]" (2009, 547). There follow some remarks on the personal article centred on usage in the eastern dialects (2009, 549). In addition, this grammar also comprises a brief account of the neuter article and its correct, preferred or incorrect usages (2009, 561). However, the most detailed and systematic presentation of the

neuter article is to be found in the manual *Les principals faltes de gramàtica (manera d'evitar-les)* (cf. Rico 2005, 697).

It should be mentioned that some of Fabra's proposals to amend language usage have taken effect, which can be shown by the example of the neuter article. In this regard, Marí states in 2015: “[...] en els inicis de la normativa fabriana, prescindir del *lo* abstractiu en el català literari va ser una proposta, però ara ja és una norma implantada socialment en l'estàndard formal, almenys de forma prou sòlida perquè qualsevol escrit formal que decidís transgredir-la acabés sent percebut com a inadequat” (Marí 2015, 145).

Finally, I must emphasise the continuing exegesis of Fabra's works, which, particularly during the interlude of Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), “had the effect of turning his works into a strict, unalterable orthodoxy” (Costa/Yates in Costa 2009, 22). Both in this period and the following years until the publication of the GIEC (cf. 3.4), the writing of grammar books with more or less prescriptive intentions never stopped, as can be demonstrated through the contributions by Jeroni Marvà (i.e. 1968), pseudonym of Artur Martorell (1874-1967) and Emili Vallès (1878-1950), Albert Jané (1973), and Josep Rúaix (1989).

3.2 Badia i Margarit's grammar

In 1994 Antoni M. Badia i Margarit (1920-2014) published a grammar that he presented as both descriptive and normative according to its title, *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana. Descriptiva, normativa, diatòpica, diastràtica*. Among the reasons that led him to write this grammar, he mentions three: a) the progress of grammar studies in general and particularly on Catalan, b) the evolution of the Catalan language since its standardisation by Fabra in 1918, and c) the changes in how spoken language was considered (Badia i Margarit 1994, 9–10). In contrast to the former normative approach, which was based on the written language, Badia i Margarit highlights the importance of the oral mode because of the influence of audiovisual media (1994, 10). However, he sees himself in the tradition of Pompeu Fabra (Badia i Margarit 1994, 31) who invited contributions from the Valencian and Majorcan areas to construct the standard for the entire linguistic territory of Catalan. This was then applied by Moll (cf. 4.1.1) and Sanchis Guarner (cf. 4.2.1). Therefore, Badia i Margarit also takes into account the geographic (diatopic) varieties of Catalan, distinguishing between the two extensive areas of eastern and western Catalan, on the one hand, and the Balearic, Valencian and Central Catalan (including Barcelonan) speech varieties, on the other. Another innovative approach consists in the consideration of three speech levels or registers that are: N1 high register, N2 the most commonly used language, and N3 colloquial language (Badia i Margarit 1994, 43). For these reasons, the title of the grammar also includes the terms diatopic and diastratic.

With regard to the Catalan article system, Badia i Margarit's explanations include both the general and the Balearic forms explaining this difference from the etymologic point of view (1994, 441–456). When describing the personal article (Badia i Margarit 1994, 446–447) he also offers a diatopic approach, distinguishing between the Balearic, Catalan and Valencian areas. In his elucidations of the uses of articles (Badia i Margarit 1994, 447–451) he adopts a Romance and normative perspective. Finally, the clarifications on the neutral article are decidedly prescriptive emphasising the correct and incorrect uses. This procedure makes the grammar highly complex. In addition and in contrast to the attention paid to the everyday language (Badia i Margarit 1994, 32), Badia i Margarit consciously wrote his grammar in a high and very polished register (Badia i Margarit 1994, 42) that often seems archaic.

3.3 Joan Solà and the normative syntax

One of the most outstanding linguists after Fabra was Joan Solà i Cortassa (1940–2010). He contributed to giving an accurate picture of contemporary Catalan usage by directing the descriptive grammar, *Gramàtica del català contemporani* (2002; 3 volumes). Among the varied range of linguistic topics he examined, Joan Solà dedicated several works to syntactic problems and the urgent need to resolve them. In his treatise on *Sintaxi normativa: estat de la qüestió* (1994) he argued that it is necessary to regulate these problems: “perquè la llengua no se’ns desfaci. De fet, avui la sintaxi catalana ja es troba enormement acostada a la castellana” (Solà 1994, 301). Since he was aware that the codification of Catalan mainly concentrated on orthography and lexicon, he focused on some tricky syntactic problems such as the neuter article (1994, 27–38 and 309–316), which he explained in terms of abstraction, intensification and idiomatic expressions. As well as the topics he explores, the study contains a long list of unsolved codification issues in syntax (“Llista parcial de construccions pendents de dictamen normatiu”; Solà 1994, 267–295). According to Solà, the revision of codification should be based on an in-depth knowledge of actual use (1985 and 1994, 14). Proposals should be elaborated through the collaboration of dialectologists, general linguists and experts in other Romance languages (1994, 16–17). In his lecture *Com es fa una sintaxi normativa. Criteris i exemples*, Solà mentioned among the possible criteria for establishing the syntactic rules: a) to discern between the inherent resources of the language and structures borrowed from other languages, b) to integrate the most widely-spoken dialects, c) to use the accumulated information to create norms, d) to be realistic about usage, e) to codify the language for future generations and f) to disregard personal preferences (Solà 2010, 15).

3.4 The new grammar by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans

In Autumn 2016, nearly one hundred years after the publication of Fabra's grammar (1918; cf. 3.1), the Institut d'Estudis Catalans launched the *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (GIEC), which aims at being the normative reference grammar of the 21st century. In contrast to Fabra's grammar, mainly the work of one author, the new grammar is the result of collaboration and was ratified by the IEC on 29 September 2016. Started in Autumn 1995, the grammar has been composed by a committee of experts (cf. "Equip de treball"; 2016, XXXVI–XXXVIII) under the supervision of Gemma Rigau and Manuel Pérez Saldanya, who took over this responsibility after the death of Joan Solà (cf. 3.3). But the collaborative aspect goes further: on 23 June 2015 the IEC presented the project L'Acadèmia Oberta. This aims to establish a platform for exchanging information between the IEC and the language professionals of the entire Catalan-speaking area, particularly, journalists, teachers, writers, translators and correctors. These groups are considered to be a reliable source of information on language usage, on the one hand, and the key element in dissemination of the norm, on the other.

It is important to stress that the GIEC introduces itself as both descriptive and normative (GIEC 2016, XX–XXII). Until recent times Catalan had no extensive and in-depth studies on language usage (2016, XXI) and so normative decisions are argued on the basis of usage description. These descriptions come out of the numerous studies published in the last third of 20th century and in particular the *Gramàtica del català contemporani* (Solà 2002; cf. 3.3). Examples are drawn from the DIEC (*Diccionari de la llengua catalana*; ###11.3) and the Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILC; 2016, XXXV). The GIEC pays great attention to syntax with 23 out of 35 chapters devoted to this topic. Of the remaining twelve, five focus on phonetics and phonology, and seven on morphology.

The GIEC fosters a more pluricentric approach in grammar codification because it takes into account linguistic variation centring the selection of standard forms on the general language (previously also known as 'literary language') and the formal registers (2016, XXII). The two guiding principles of description are therefore the geographic variation (diatopic or geolectal), on the one hand, and the functional variation (diaphasic or register), on the other. In a third and complementary term the description and decision making process consider the evolution of language. All the information gathered is processed on the basis of one criterion, that is, the adequacy of the selected form in the communicative situation (2016, XXIII).

Among the different geographic varieties, the GIEC considers the more representative ones of each of the Catalan vernaculars that have acquired prestige throughout the entire Catalan-speaking territory. Thus, the six dialects are represented by a selection of subdialects, but all the areas are represented: from the eastern group dialects there are *alguerès* (in Alghero), Northern Catalan, Central

Catalan and Balearic; from the western group, North Western Catalan and Valencian (cf. 2016, XXIV).

Register representation distinguishes between three degrees of formality: highly formal, formal and less formal (2016, XXIV). The latter gives rise to reflection on the colloquial register since spontaneity is added as a parameter. It is important to note that the spoken and written modality of language is always considered. Grammar, and normative grammar in particular, is not reduced to the written modality. The spoken utterance is also subject to standardisation, described in the chapters on phonetics and phonology. As orthography belongs only to the written modality of language, this traditional part of grammar is not displayed in the GIEC (2016, XXVI; ###11.1).

It follows from the above that the descriptive and normative approach makes it difficult to discern between the preferred standard forms and other forms that are ‘not possible’ or ‘not recommendable’ (2016, XXIII). Therefore, M. Teresa Cabré comments that the GIEC requires certain interpretative skills (2016, XV) and in the public debate on this approach it has been emphasised that the GIEC leaves it up to the reader to determine which solutions are the preferred ones. However, the IEC has announced an abridged version for non-experts, the *Gramàtica essencial de la llengua catalana*, which is expected to be launched at the end of 2017.⁴

The Catalan article system is set out among the 23 chapters on syntaxes (GIEC 2016, 471-1314). It is described specifically in chapter 16 “Els determinants” (2016, 569-618), which includes articles, demonstratives and possessives. A first approach to the article is given in the introduction to this chapter and focuses on the information that the definite and indefinite article supplies (2016, 573–577). On the subsequent 22 pages the definite article (2016, 578–594), the indefinite article (2016, 594–598) and the lack of an article (2016, 598–600) are described. In the main section where the definite article is presented, the standard form is clearly indicated as *el, la, els, les*, for the syllabic form and *l’* for the asyllabic form (GIEC 2016, 578; pattern 1). There follows a subsection where the variants of the definite article are briefly indicated (580–581). These are the traditional form of the definite masculine article (*lo, los*) and the *article salat* (pattern 2). The GIEC mentions particularly that the traditional article is preserved: “[e]n alguns parlars nord-occidentals, en el parlar del Camp de Tarragona, en tortosí, en alguerès i en algunes comarques valencianes [...]” (2016, 580). According to GIEC (2016, 581), the *article salat* coexists in the Balearic Islands with the standard article and belongs to the less formal register of spoken language. published

The personal article (pattern 3) is presented as appropriate before personal names since these are “inherently definite” (GIEC 2016, 581). The two different forms – *en, na, n’*, on the one hand, and *el, la, l’*, on the other – appear to be treated equally (GIEC 2016, 581). The previous forms are attributed to the Balearic Island

⁴ In 2017, Ginebra published a “practical guide” to the new normative regulations.

Comentado [JB1]: However, in January 2019 the IEC launched an abridged version for non-experts, the *Gramàtica essencial de la llengua catalana* (GIEC 2019), which is expected to be completed by the *Gramàtica bàsica i d’ús de la llengua catalana* (GBU) at the end of 2019.

and the latter to most of the Catalan vernaculars. Explicitly, it is mentioned that the Valencian vernaculars and *tortosí* do not usually use the article before personal names (GIEC 2016, 582).

The largest part of this subsection is dedicated to the usage of the definite article (GIEC 2016, 583–587) and the values, which the definite article can take on (GIEC 2016, 587–594). These values for expressing individualisation, on the one hand, and admiring, on the other, take on certain functions of the neutral article, explicitly mentioned as the traditional denomination of these two values (GIEC 2016, 587). It is highlighted that: “A més de l'article *el*, en la parla hi trobem la forma col·loquial *lo* com a article amb valor individualitzador: *Sempre em diu lo que he de fer*” (GIEC 2016, 588). For the formal registers other forms are indicated as more appropriate by a handful of alternative constructions. The same occurs to the value of admiring where the usage of *lo* is indicated as “influència forana”, typical for the informal registers, followed by recommendations of suitable Catalan alternatives (GIEC 2016, 594).

To sum up with regard to the Catalan article system, the GIEC demonstrates a balanced proposal on the basis of geographic variation. But for an ordinary user it would be difficult to detect the precise function of an element and therefore get the rules for register appropriateness.

4 Normative grammars for specific geographic standards

4.1 Balearic normative grammars

4.1.1 Francesc de B. Moll

In 1937 Francesc de B. Moll (1903-1991) published an essential normative grammar for the use of the Balearic community (Moll 1962, 7), later known as *Rudiments de gramàtica normativa. Per a ús dels escriptors balearics*. He sees the knowledge offered in this grammar as a preliminary stage for the deeper study of the Catalan standard variety conceived by Pompeu Fabra (Moll 1962, 7). Despite envisaging the grammar for the Balearic Islands Moll supports the unity of Catalan-speaking areas and highlights the differences between language and dialect (Moll 1962, 10). He draws a distinction between spoken language, which is diverse, and literary language, which tends towards unity and according to him represents the abstract spirit of the language (Moll 1962, 11). For creating the literary language all of the diatopic variants need to cooperate because every dialect has good

qualities, but also some deficiencies (Moll 1962, 12). In Moll's view in the construction of the literary language no dialect should prevail (Moll 1962, 12). In this regard he disagrees with the standardisation of Catalan on the basis of Barcelonan speech. However, the significant changes in the title of the following edition(s), *Gramàtica Catalana referida especialment a les Illes Balears* (1968), leaves no room for doubt that the Balearic dialect belongs to the Catalan language (cf. Bonet 2000, 73-111).⁵

With respect to the Catalan article system, Moll's explanation is not so different from other grammarians as he presents the general article and afterwards the Balearic article, predominantly used in the spoken mode (Moll 1962, 217). The adoption of the general article for the written mode seems to him a contribution to comprehension between Balearic writers and the continental readership (Moll 1962, 217) as well as "en benefici de la unitat idiomàtica" (Moll 1962, 218). Although Moll justifies the diatopic variation of Catalan by presenting a normative grammar of the Balearic variety, his normative discourse relies on the arguments that emphasise the need for linguistic unity and the rejection of particularism. This purist line is reflected in the rules, which Moll gives in order to avoid the neutral article, which is considered a possible influence from Spanish (Moll 1962, 219-221).

4.1.2 Other attempts at standardisation

Among the private institutions, which foster a different and particular standardisation, the Acadèmi de sa Llengo Baléa should be mentioned. In 2005 this institution published a highly controversial grammar of Balearic, *Gramàtica (Normativa) d'es Baléa*. It aims to bridge the gap between the spoken language of the Balearic Islands ("sa llengo que xèrra y ralla es poble baléa"; GNB 2005, 5) and the "imposition" of standard Catalan at school (GNB 2005, 5) from the 1990s onwards. The normative discourse adopted by this grammar refers clearly to the motto of the Real Academia Española since it aims to: "fitsà, polí y donà lluantó a sa llengo" (GNB 2005, 5), this is to say, "Limpia, fija y da esplendor" (###12.2). In addition, it rejects not only the Catalan standard, but also the intervention of normative decisions other than those taken by the people: "Sa màxima autoritat d'una Llengo, la té exclusivament es Poble que la xèrra" (GNB 2005, 259). In this context, it is not surprising that only the Balearic forms of the article are presented (GNB 2005, 117-120) without mentioning the general forms of the Catalan article.

⁵ Among the recent approaches to the Balearic variety, it is worth noting that the attempt for a normative grammar by Seguí Trobat (2014) contains an extensive chapter on article use (2014, 33-47).

4.2 Valencian normative grammars

4.2.1 Manuel Sanchis Guarner

Manuel Sanchis Guarner's (1911-1981) grammar, *Gramàtica valenciana* (1950), is undoubtedly the first systematic and rigorous description of Valencian varieties conceived with a normative purpose. Following the example of Moll's grammar (cf. 4.1.1), Sanchis implements the *Normes de Castelló* (1932) (###11.1) in order to offer a normative framework to the Valencian writers according to Fabra's proposal. Sanchis favours, on the one hand, genuine forms from the actual language, even if they differ from those preferred by Fabra and, on the other, forms from the classical language, which coincide with Fabra's solutions, but which have lost their vitality in Valencian. In line with purist discourse, a third group of forms, those borrowed from Spanish, is directly rejected (Ferrando 1993, xviii–xx). In this sense, the motto of the grammar, a well known quotation from Fabra's *Converses Filològiques*, is significant (I cite it in English following Costa 2009, 147): “We Catalans would wish only that you and your colleagues might undertake a concerted purification of the language that you use, without worrying in the least about coming nearer to how we speak it in Catalonia. The aim would be to rid Valencian of Castilian influences, to set it back on its own feet and to enrich it, restoring it to a proper relationship with the language of your great medieval writers.” (cf. Sanchis 1950, 23).

Written for a specialised readership, Sanchis starts with an in-depth consideration of the relationship between standard language, geographic variety and vernaculars (Sanchis 1950, 27–34) and some reflexions on the creation of other literary languages (LITERALITZACIÓ; Sanchis 1950, 31), for instance, Italian and German. He makes clear that speaking is always vague and inapprehensible (Sanchis 1950, 27), whereas the written and standard language, because of its fixedness, lags behind the spoken language (Sanchis 1950, 29). He considers four registers: a) high register suitable for written communication, b) medium register suitable for spoken and written communication on the regional level, c) the local dialect and d) the vulgar or ordinary speech (Ferrando 1993, xxiii). According to Sanchis, the standard would coincide with register b), while c) and d) are not appropriate for a polished way of speaking. Therefore, grounded in historical-cultural and aesthetical criteria, the aim of the grammar is to show which are the idiomatically correct uses (Sanchis 1950, 29). The task of the grammarian is: “El gramàtic trau les formes idiomàtiques de l'àmbit concret del parlar, les aïlla i les sistematitza, i després d'ordenar-les, raonar-les i construir-les segons la Història lingüística, les torna a l'espai, al temps, a la Societat” (Sanchis 1950, 27).

A more detailed analysis of Sanchis' normative approach can be found in Bonet (2000, 13–35), where two other influential Valencian grammar books are also examined, *Les lliçons de Gramàtica Valenciana amb exercicis pràctics* (1951) by Carles Salvador (1897-1955; cf. Bonet 2000, 37–72), and *Curs mitjà de gramàtica catalana referida especialment al País Valencià* (1977) by Enric Valor (1911-2000; cf. Bonet 2000, 113–145).

4.2.2 *Guia d'usos lingüístics*

In 2002 the Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana (IIFV) published a guide to standard Valencian usage, *Guia d'usos lingüístics*. The IIFV was created in 1987 and aims to enhance “the linguistic and literary study of the Valencian language, within the general framework of the Catalan language and its literature” (IIFV). The target readership is specified as being any person interested in the formal usage of Valencian and specifically the (future) teachers within the Valencian education system (2002, 20). In a very didactic way the guide explains the main controversial points of Catalan codification. This is also the case of the three patterns of the Catalan article system, which are in the tradition of other former Valencian grammars (cf. 4.2.1).

I would highlight that the introduction to the *Guia d'usos lingüístics* includes some well-explained notions on language variation, standard and linguistic correctness (2002, 15–22) before expounding the elements of grammar (2002, 23–154). There we can find a definition of standard, which largely coincides with the Prague school conception (###...): “L'estàndard és una varietat lingüística no espontània: es basa en un model lingüístic proposat per una autoritat lingüística reconeguda i es fixa a partir de l'ús formal, en especial el de persones que tenen una projecció d'abast ampli, com escriptors, polítics, periodistes, etc. Es tracta d'un model de referència que serveix a tots els membres d'una comunitat lingüística per a comunicar-se en els àmbits formals” (2002, 17).

4.2.3 *Gramàtica Normativa Valenciana*

In 2006 the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL) published a normative grammar, *Gramàtica Normativa Valenciana*, also known by the acronym GNV. The AVL is an institution created in 1998 (*Llei 7/1998*) by the Generalitat Valenciana, the Valencian regional government. It became the only body allowed to establish and implement the official standard for Valencian, after the reform of the *Estatut d'Autonomia de la Comunitat Valenciana* (1982) in 2006. The AVL's standard was defined as binding for the whole public administration (Article 41) and therefore it was essential to have a normative grammar. Regarding the

glossonym, the GNV opts for the traditional name *valencià* (Valencian) according to the *Dictamen sobre els principis i criteris per a la defensa de la denominació i l'entitat del valencià* (2005) and with respect to orthography it respects the *Normes de Castelló* (1932) (###11.1). More specifically, this means that Valencian is seen as part of the Catalan-speaking territory (*Dictamen* 2005, 20–21) and any attempts at fragmentation are rejected in support of a convergent, but pluricentric codification (*Dictamen* 2005, 24–25).

The GNV starts by explaining the aims of grammar codification: “[...] una gramàtica normativa té com a finalitat determinar amb claredat quines són les formes més idònies per als diversos àmbits d’ús de la llengua, és a dir, ha de ser prescriptiva i orientativa alhora” (GNV 2006, 13). This idea is explained when elucidating the three main criteria that maintain the normative decisions. The first criterion refers to the prescriptive as well as descriptive character of the GNV, which revisits some crucial notions expressed in the *Guia d’usos lingüístics* (cf. 4.2.2.). Through the prescriptive perspective the grammar aims to orient the learner about which forms are recommended for formal registers or standard language. So, one of the most distinctive qualities of the GNV is to designate clearly the difference between formal and general forms, on the one hand, and less formal or restrictive forms, on the other (GNV 2006, 16–17). In contrast, the descriptive perspective, though never exhaustive, is adopted for explaining the normative decisions to the general readership (GNV 2006, 15–16). The second criterion gives priority to Valencian forms: “les formes genuïnes de la llengua parlada i de més prestigi literari, partint de les preferències del valencià general” (GNV 2006, 16). The third and last criterion highlights the cohesion of the different geographic varieties (GNV 2006, 16).

Chapter 15 deals with the article system (GNV 2006, 123–130) and focuses on Valencian, but includes mentions of other varieties such as the Balearic article (GNV 2006, 124). With respect to the personal article the GNV asserts the absence of this type of article in Valencian. It explains that the personal article is still used in the Balearic vernaculars, whereas the north-western and central dialects tend to use the definite article, in particular, in the case of the feminine (GNV 2006, 126). In the case of the neuter article *lo* which is not accepted by most grammars as normative, the GNV does admit this element as it is common in spoken language: “En l’expressió oral espontània, la forma *lo* s’utilitza actualment de manera general amb valor neutre, amb una distribució d’usos semblant a la que es fa en castellà” (GNV 2006, 127). The description of its functions (GNV 2006, 127–130) follows Solà’s proposal by distinguishing between abstraction, intensification and idiomatic expressions (cf. 3.3). Here the normative discourse includes recommendations on avoiding forms created by Spanish influence.

4.2.4 Other attempts at standardisation

One of the institutions, which always fostered an independent standard based on the secessionist orthography of *Normes del Puig* (1981) (###11.1), is the Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana (RACV), which has its origin in the Centre de Cultura Valenciana founded in 1915 (cf. Lledó 2011). On the occasion of its centenary this institution published a new grammar, *Nova Gramàtica de la Llengua Valenciana* (NGLV, 2015, 2016). This grammar was also prepared to commemorate the publication of the *Gramàtica elemental de la llengua valenciana* (1915) by Lluís Fullana Mira (1872-1948). In his preface the director of the Department for Valencian Language and Literature, Voro López Verdejo censures the on-going disfigurement of Valencian under the influence of Spanish, on the one hand, and Catalan, on the other (2016, 7–8). This latter influence is repeatedly presented in terms of idiomatic annexation (López Verdejo 2016, 8 and 17). In line with the secessionist ideology of RACV, López Verdejo argues that Valencian should be categorised within the larger linguistic area called Occitan-Valencian or Occitan-Romance (2016, 9) instead of presenting it simply as belonging to the Catalan dialect continuum: “que inclou, además del valencià i del català, unes altres llengües que presenten afinitat estructural entre sí, com el mallorquí, el llenguadocià, el provençal, el gascó o el llemosí” (López Verdejo 2016, 9). Since Catalan and Valencian differ in verbal and nominal morphology and have a distinctive syntactic behaviour, the final objective of the grammar is to establish an independent standard for Valencian (López Verdejo 2016, 17). It is interesting that the suitable concept of *Ausbausprache*, introduced by Heinz Kloss (cf., among others, Kloss 1967), is used to justify the independent standardisation (López Verdejo 2016, 17). The model of Catalan standard language initially conceived by Fabra and later developed by the IEC is rejected by the RACV for being homogenising. They imply that Catalan standardisation leads to Valencian being swallowed up: “orientat a suplanter el lèxic i les formes patrimonials valencianes per les catalanes” (López Verdejo 2016, 27). According to this perspective, the RACV presents its own prescriptive grammar, which reflects the actual spoken Valencian vernaculars (López Verdejo 2016, 9 and 28).

The Valencian article system is presented, and by means of footnotes differences in other Catalan dialects such as Balearic are mentioned (NGLV 2016, 218). It is worth emphasising that the inventory of article forms (NGLV 2016, 218) includes the neuter article *lo*, which is completely accepted as normative (NGLV 2016, 237–243). The invariable neuter article is clearly distinguished from the classical forms *lo/los* of definite masculine article that are no longer used in general language except in some northern regions (NGLV 2016, 216–219). With regard to the personal article, which is fully alive in other regions of the Catalan-speaking community, the NGLV preserves it as a respectful address form in current speech (e.g. *En/Na*) and requires the capital letters for writing (NGLV 2016, 243–244). The representation of the article system therefore demonstrates a restricted view of the linguistic area, which highlights Valencian’s particularities.

It should be mentioned that there are other previous attempts at independent codification, some of them proposing a particular model within the linguistic unity (Barberà et al. 1980) and others breaking links with the wider community (Guinot i Galán 1987; Fontelles/Llanuza/Garcia 1996).

5 Summary and future prospects

The following figure allows to sum up the different approaches of the selected grammars, though in a very schematic way. Nevertheless, the main differences can be highlighted by the geographic focus (in bold) of each of the grammars. The principal shift can be seen between the two official normative grammars, that is to say, the shift from a monocentric approach in Fabra (1918/1933) to a pluricentric one in the GIEC (2016). A significant change occurred in the consideration of the Valencian variety and Community of Valencia, which emerged as a semi-centre of standardisation, while the diatopic variations of other territories (e.g. Balearic) still need to be considered “predominantly exonormative centres” (Amorós Negre 2014, 170).

	Eastern group				Western group	
	Northern Catalan	Central Catalan	Balearic	<i>alguerès</i> (in Alghero)	North Western Catalan	Valencian
3.1 Fabra (1918/1933)		x				
3.2 Badia i Margarit (1994)		x	x			x
3.4 GIEC (2016)	x	x	x	x	x	x
4.1.1 Moll (1937/1968)		x	x			x
4.1.2 <i>Gramàtica (Normativa) d'es Baléa</i> (2005)			x			
4.2.1 Sanchis Guarnier (1950)		x	x			x
4.2.2 <i>Guia d'usos linguistics</i> (2002)		x				x
4.2.3 GNV (2006)		x	x			x
4.2.4 NGLV (2015)						x

The figure also shows the divergent or secessionist codifications undertaken in *Gramàtica (Normativa) d'es Baléa* (2005) and NGLV (2015). The remaining four grammars can be classified as convergent in order to complete the fixation of a normative standard for the entire Catalan-speaking territory.

However, the polycentric codification does not necessarily imply a balanced functioning of the polymorphic standard. In the prologue of *Cruïlla* (2002; cf. 1.),

Pradilla describes the ideal Catalan standard model as follows: “l’ideal seria un model únic polimòrfic on l’usuari pogués triar entre una diversitat d’opcions no jerarquitzades” (in Beltran/Panisello 2002, 8). This conception seems to present certain similarity to what Marcellesi in 1983 called polynomic language: “Une langue polynomique est une langue à l’unité abstraite, à laquelle les utilisateurs reconnaissent plusieurs modalités d’existence, toutes également tolérées sans qu’il y ait entre elles hiérarchisation ou spécialisation de fonction” (2003, 173–174). Nevertheless, it seems to us that this kind of abstract linguistic projection does not work among the language users – at least until now. It is difficult to predict whether centrifugal or centripetal tendencies will prevail in the age of globalisation and digitalisation.

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